

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 ISO-00 EUR-10 PM-03 INR-10 NSC-10 CIAE-00

NSCE-00 RSC-01 DRC-01 /066 W  
----- 104242

P R 150943Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 142

SECDEF/WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 8460

LIMDIS

FROM US DEP REP MBFR

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OCTOBER 12

BEGIN SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP REVIEWED THEMES AND QUESTIONS WHICH MIGHT ARISE IN PRESS CONTACTS PRIOR TO FIRST PLENARY, AGREEING TO FOLLOW LINES ON TREATMENT OF MBFR THEMES IN US ADDENDUM TO CM73-80, TAKEN FROM TEXT EARLIER PROPOSED BY WASHINGTON. GROUP GAVE PROVISIONAL APPROVAL TO LUXEMBOURG DRAFT OPENING STATEMENT WITH MINOR AMENDMENTS. END SUMMARY.

1. ITALIAN DEP REP (TALIANI) NOTED HIS OFFICE DIRECTOR FOR ARMS CONTROL AND MBFR (FONTANA-GIUSTI) WAS RETURNING TO ROME AND WANTED GROUP'S ADVICE AS TO WHAT HE SHOULD SAY IN PRESS CONTACTS IN PERIOD PRIOR TO OCTOBER 30. TALIANI FELT THAT AMERICAN ANNEX TO NATO PAPER CM73-80 COINCIDED WITH ITALIAN VIEWS. BELGIAN DEP REP (WILLOT) NOTED THAT ITEMS A THROUGH E OF SECTION IV OF NATO PAPER HAD BEEN REVIEWED BY SPC BUT THAT PARAS F THROUGH H HAD NOT BEEN DISCUSSED BY SPC YET. BELGIAN CHAIRMAN (ADRIAENS-SEN) ASKED FOR GROUP'S VIEWS ON PARAS F THROUGH H. NETHERLANDS  
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REP (QUARLES) EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE TOO EARLY TO MAKE

SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO COMMON CEILING (AS IN ITEM F) BEFORE FIRST PLENARY, BUT AGREED WITH GENERAL DRIFT OF POINTS F THROUGH H FOR USE IN GENERAL BACKGROUNDING PRIOR OCTOBER 30 OPENING OF TALKS.

2. NETHERLANDS REP WENT ON TO ASK WHETHER IT WAS INTENDED TO USE SPECIFIC FIGURES IN CONNECTION WITH POINTS ON DISPARITIES AND ASYMMETRIES. US DEP REP REPLIED THAT THAT WOULD DEPEND ON TIMING. IN NEXT TWO WEEKS -- BEFORE OPENING OF CONFERENCE -- REFERENCES PROBABLY SHOULD BE VERY GENERAL. ONE COULD SIMPLY SAY EAST HAD "MORE" GROUND TROOPS AND MORE TANKS THAN NATO IN THE AREA. IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR ALLIES TO USE SPECIFIC FIGURES WITH EAST UNTIL THE DEVELOPMENT-OF-THEMES STEP, WHEN EAST MIGHT CHALLENGE WESTERN CLAIMS OF GREATER NUMBER OF EASTERN FORCES AND TANKS. UK DEP REP (GOODALL) SAID IT WOULD BE VERY DESIRABLE TO USE AGREED DATA AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT. THE SOONER THE GROUP CAN BEGIN TO USE AGREED DATA IN PRESS CONTACTS, THE MORE EFFECTIVELY IT CAN DISPELL ERRORS IN THE PRESS. SHAPRE REP (GRIFFIN) SAID THAT DATA SUPPORT SUBGROUP WAS SUPPOSED TO COMPLETE AN AGREED SET OF FIGURES BY 1 NOVEMBER FOR USE BY GROUP. FRG REP (BEHRENDTS) SAID THAT IN INTERIM UNTIL AGREED DATA AVAILABLE, HE PROPOSED TO USE PUBLISHED FIGURES IN GERMAN WHITE BOOK ON DEFENSE POLICY FOR FRG BRIEFINGS. US DEP REP NOTED ALLIES MIGHT HAVE TO USE A FEW AGREED FIGURES, THOSE ON OVERALL PACT AND NATO STRENGTH, ON TANK STRENGTHS AND ON US AND SOVIET FORCES IN BACKGROUNDING PRESS AFTER OPENING STATEMENTS. WHILE ALLIES COULD AVOID SPECIFIC NUMBERS IN BRIEF PERIOD PRIOR TO OPENING, THEIR APPROACH WOULD NOT APPEAR PROFESSIONAL TO WESTERN PRESS UNLESS THEY IN POSITION TO ADVANCE A FEW SPECIFIC FIGURES OF TYPE INDICATED.

3. CHAIRMAN ASKED FOR GROUP'S VIEWS OF INFORMAL CHECKLIST OF POSSIBLE PRESS QUESTIONS WHICH HAD BEEN PREPARED BY IS. US DEP REP RESPONDED BY SUGGESTING FOLLOWING POSSIBLE LINES TO BE USED IN PERIOD BEFORE OPENING OF CONFERENCE:

A. TO POSSIBLE QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER ALLIES HAD AGREED TO PROPOSE COMMON CEILING FIGURE OF 700,000 MEN, WESTERN REPS WOULD SAY IT IS PREMATURE TO REVEAL DETAILS OF NEGOTIATING POSITIONS.

B. TO MORE GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER ALLIES WOULD TAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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ACCOUNT OF DIFFERING LEVELS OF EQUIPMENT, WESTERN REPS MIGHT REPLY WEST WAS INTERESTED IN DISPARITY IN TANKS.

C. WESTERN REPS WOULD DISMISS AS PREMATURE QUESTIONS ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT MIGHT REPLY TO QUESTIONS ABOUT GROUND FORCE EQUIPMENT BY MENTIONING WESTERN INTEREST IN TANKS.

D. TO SPECULATIVE QUESTIONS ABOUT PACT POSITIONS, WESTERN

REPS WOULD SAY THAT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHAT PACT POSITIONS WILL BE.

E. TO QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER ALLIES ENVISAGED MORE THAN ONE PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS, WEST COULD SAY IT WAS PREMATURE TO DISCUSS BUT MORE THAN ONE PHASE WOULD THEORETICALLY BE POSSIBLE.

F. TO QUESTIONS ABOUT US AND SOVIET FORCES IN PHASE ONE, REPS MIGHT NEITHER DENY NOR SPECIFICALLY CONFIRM, SAYING RATHER THAT THIS IS A QUESTION WHICH WILL BE DEVELOPED IN THE NEGOTIATION.

G. AS TO DURATION OF NEGOTIATIONS, REPS COULD REPLY THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO MAKE ANY PREDICTION UNTIL WE GET DEEPER INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS; THE ALLIES WILL MOVE AS FAST AS CIRCUMSTANCES AND THE NEED FOR REASONABLE CAUTION PERMIT.

H. ON QUESTIONS ABOUT SIZE OF REDUCTIONS, REPS COULD SAY IT WAS PREMATURE TO DISCUSS DETAILS.

I. TO QUESTIONS ABOUT ASYMMETRIES, REPS MIGHT EMPHASIZE ALL EASTERN DISPARITIES STATING THAT REDUCTION AGREEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF THESE AND THAT EASTERN REDUCTIONS SHOULD THEREFORE BE LARGER THAN WESTERN. BUT REPS WOULD REPLY THAT ANY DISCUSSION OF DETAILS OF POSSIBLE PROPOSALS WAS PREMATURE.

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 PM-03 INR-10 NSC-10 CIAE-00

NSCE-00 DRC-01 RSC-01 /060 W  
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P R 150943Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 143

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 8460

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J. DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC STABILIZING MEASURES WOULD ALSO BE DECLINED AS PREMATURE, BUT ALLIES SHOULD CITE REASONS WHY SUCH MEASURES WERE CONSIDERED DESIRABLE, I.E., TO AVOID MISCALCULATION AND DECREASE RISK OF SURPRISE ATTACK, AND GENERAL NEED FOR TIGHT MEASURES TO PREVENT CIRCUMVENTION.

K. TO QUESTION ABOUT FLANK INTERESTS, REPS COULD REPLY THAT IT SHOULD BE CLEAR NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE A DESTABILIZING EFFECT OUTSIDE OF CENTRAL EUROPE.

L. ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO NON-CIRCUMVENTION, REPS COULD SAY REINTRODUCTION OF WITHDRAWN FORCES WOULD BE PROHIBITED. IF HUNGARIAN ISSUE AROSE, ALLIES SHOULD ALSO QUOTE NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES' STATEMENT AT FINAL PRESS CONFERENCE ABOUT CONTINUED WESTERN INTEREST IN AND RIGHT TO ADDRESS FORCES IN HUNGARY, BUT WOULD NOT GO INTO ANY FURTHER DETAILS.

M. IF EAST MENTIONED FRENCH TERRITORY OR FORCES, WESTERN REPS WOULD SAY SIMPLY THAT FRANCE IS SOVEREIGN STATE WHICH HAS MADE ITS OWN POSITION KNOWN, AND DECLINE FURTHER COMMENT.

N. ON VERIFICATION QUESTIONS, WEST COULD SAY VARIOUS POSSI-  
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BILITIES ARE BEING EXAMINED BY ALLIES. AS TO FIRMNESS OF WESTERN INTELLIGENCE ON PACT FORCES, WESTERN REPS WOULD SAY THAT DESPITE CLOSED NATURE OF EASTERN SOCIETIES, WE WERE RELATIVELY CONFIDENT IN ALLIED KNOWLEDGE OF PACT FORCES. UK DEP REP ADDED THAT ONE SHOULD NOT GET INTO DISCUSSION OF ACCURACY OF DATA IN PUBLISHED MATERIALS SUCH AS ISS PAMPHLETS, AND SIMPLY ATTRIBUTE DIFFERENCES IN PUBLICATIONS TO CLOSED NATURE OF EASTERN SOCIETIES WHILE INDICATING ALLIES WOULD MAKE AVAILABLE SPECIFIC DATA LATER.

O. AS REGARDS QUESTIONS WHETHER NATO HAS A COMMON NEGOTIATING POSITION, ANSWER SHOULD BE YES. AS TO A FALL BACK POSITION, NO. ON QUESTIONS ABOUT POSSIBLE DIFFERENCES AMONG NATO ALLIES, IT MIGHT BE SAID THAT INITIAL DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ARE NATURAL GIVEN COMPLEXITY OF TOPIC, BUT THEY HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED. THEY INVOLVED MAINLY TACTICS AND TIMING.

P. WARSAW PACT INTENTIONS. ALLIED REPS WOULD SAY PREPARATORY TALKS INDICATED PACT COUNTRIES WERE SERIOUS ABOUT MBFR, BUT WOULD DECLINE TO SPECULATE ON POSSIBLE PACT POSITIONS AT THIS TIME.

Q. IF ASKED WHETHER POSSIBLE EASTERN MOVES HAD BEEN CANVASSED, WESTERN REPS WOULD SAY YES. IF ASKED ABOUT TRYING TO GET AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA, THEY WOULD CITE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF PREPARATORY TALKS TO SHOW CLEAR WESTERN RIGHT TO INTRODUCE TOPICS

FOR NEGOTIATION AND SAY THAT THERE WAS NO NEED FOR A FORMAL AGENDA.

R. IF ASKED HOW MUCH INFORMATION WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, WESTERN REPS COULD INDICATE THAT THEY INTENDED TO BE AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE CONSISTENT WITH APPROPRIATE CONFIDENTIALITY.

4. NETHERLANDS REP AND OTHER REPS AGREED WITH US DEP REP'S POINTS. NETHERLANDS REP OPINED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO AVOID COMMENTS BY ALLIES ON US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS AND COMMON CEILING. US DEP REP SAID THAT THIS COULD BE AVOIDED FOR A BRIEF PERIOD, BUT EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IT PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HOLD THE LINE UNTIL TABLING OF THE FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL. HE EXPLAINED THAT THIS WAS ONE CONSIDERATION UNDERLYING FORMULATION OF THOSE SECTIONS OF THE US DRAFT OPENING STATEMENT WHICH WOULD INTRODUCE THE ELEMENT OF THE US AND SOVIET FORCES EARLY. FURTHER, SINCE US-SOVIET MANPOWER DISPARITY WAS GREATER THAN CONFIDENTIAL

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NATO-PACT MANPOWER DISPARITY, PROPOSED US OPENING STATEMENT WOULD ALLOW FOR CLEARER FOCUS ON GREATEST DISPARITY.

5. GROUP PROVISIONALLY ADOPTED LUXEMBOURG DRAFT OPENING STATEMENT AFTER LUXEMBOURG REP (DUHR) AGREED TO REVISE OR DROP A SENTENCE WHICH NETHERLANDS REP FELT IMPLIED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT AND FREEZE RATHER THAN IMPROVE UPON THE STATUS QUO. TEXT SEPTTEL.

6. UNITED STATES REP STANLEY R. RESOR ARRIVED IN TIME TO BE INTRODUCED TO GROUP BEFORE SESSION ADJOURNED TO RECONVENE IN VIENNA ON AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 16. HUMES

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**DecapTION Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OCTOBER 12 BEGIN SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP REVIEWED THEMES AND QUESTIONS WHICH  
**TAGS:** PARM, NATO  
**To:** STATE DOD  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005